

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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EXTINCTION OF SLAVERY.—SINGAPORE.

GOVERNMENT GENERAL ORDER.

Prince of Wales Island, Jan. 5.—The period having arrived for carrying into execution the humane, disinterested, and noble pledge of the slave-holders at Malacca, the governor deems it right to republish for general information, and in order to remove from the minds of the few slaves who may yet be in existence all apprehension or doubt of their right henceforth to be considered as free, and no longer subject to be treated as slaves under any denomination, colour, or pretence whatever, an authentic copy, subjoined, of the resolutions passed at the public meeting of the inhabitants of Malacca, held on the 28th November, 1829, and at their request conveyed to the governor through Mr. W. T. Lewis, who presided on the occasion.

The governor takes this opportunity of congratulating the European and other inhabitants of Malacca on the completion of their generous purpose, and the satisfaction which they cannot but feel, in having thus of their own free will come forward, and emancipated their fellow-men from the degraded condition of slavery. He is aware that the slaves in question were, generally speaking, born and bred up under their masters' roof; that they had for a series of years been supported with kind and considerate treatment; and that they came into the possession of their owners at a period, and under a government, when slavery was tolerated by law. The spontaneous emancipation, therefore, of their slaves by the inhabitants of Malacca, under such circumstances, cannot fail to be highly gratifying to, and warmly appreciated by, the British authorities, as well as the supreme government of British India; to which latter authority the governor will have great satisfaction in reporting, that the last remnant of slavery which existed in the British settlements in the Straits of Malacca, has been for ever abolished by the unanimous accord of the inhabitants themselves.

(Signed) S. G. BONHAM, Governor of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore, and Malacca.

BRITISH GUIANA, No. 1.

STATE OF INDUSTRY.

It is evident from the returns of produce exported from this colony during the two first years of freedom, as compared with corresponding periods during the time of slavery and apprenticeship, that there has been a considerable falling off. The question naturally arises, whether this is to be attributed to the indolence of the negroes or to other causes? and, if so, whether those causes are likely to be removed? A careful examination of official reports, made to the Colonial Secretary by Governor Light, clearly shows that the decrease is to be attributed to the change of employment, occasioned by the transition from slavery to freedom; to the partial withdrawal of women from field-labour; to the small rate of wages offered the labourers; to the attempt of some of the planters to impose upon them a nine-hours' tariff for wages paid on other estates for seven-and-a-half hours' labour; to blending the questions of rent and wages together, and the

ejectments consequent thereon; but especially to the prevalence of long and severe droughts, which prevailed in the colony during the years 1839 and 1840, as may be seen from the following official reports:—

Governor LIGHT to the Marquis of NORMANBY, 26th April, 1839.

"I have the honour to transmit to your lordship the custom-house returns of produce shipped from this colony for the January quarter of the present year. There is a considerable falling off for the counties of Essequibo and Demerara; and there is far from a trifling decrease for Berbice.

"I beg your lordship to bear in mind, that the cane cultivation on most of the estates is distant, at extreme points, four, five, and sometimes eight miles from the works; that the cane fields are intersected by trenches leading into a main trench running the whole length of the cultivation. The trenches are just wide enough and deep enough to allow their being navigable for punts; and on the sufficiency of water in these trenches depends the feasibility of carrying away the canes, as they are reaped, to the mill. In ordinary seasons, the trenches are sufficiently supplied from creeks, savannahs, or lakes, with water to communicate freely with the works, by means of punts, dragged by mules, pacing the side-lines of the great trench. The season, which had been excessively favourable at the beginning of the year, and gave promise of large return, has not, for upwards of seventy-two days, had a respite from excessive drought; the consequence has been that the savannahs, creeks, or lakes, have been dried up; the trenches, having no supply, have been exhausted, and the canes have been left uncut, from the impossibility of conveyance to the works. This, then, is the chief cause of the failure during the last quarter, and not the idleness of the peasantry, to which some of the planters are disposed to ascribe it.

"The good feeling, not to say devotion, of the negroes on many of the estates, has been evinced strongly within the last three or four weeks, in arresting the alarming progress of the conflagration of the woods and savannahs which form a belt round most of the estates, and are either separated from the cultivation by trenches or creeks. Upwards of seventy miles in Demerara alone are at this moment smoking, or in flames, or destroyed; two or three estates on the west coast of the river Demerara have suffered much from the progress of the fire. The same fires rage in other parts of the colony, but not to such extent."—*Parliamentary Papers*, No. 523, 1839, Part i. (5), p. 275.

Governor LIGHT to the Marquis of NORMANBY, 16th July 1839.

"I have the honour to transmit to your lordship the custom-house returns for the quarter ending the 5th of July; the decrease for Demerara continues, but several ships laden with colonial produce have cleared out between the 5th and the present day. There is an increase for Berbice; the lengthened drought of the last and beginning of the present quarter would have caused diminished crops in Essequibo and Demerara, under the most coerced system of labour. The coffee-berry is fixed, and a large harvest is anticipated."—*Parliamentary Papers*, No. 151, 1840, p. 13.

Governor LIGHT to the Marquis of NORMANBY, Oct. 15th, 1839.

"It is a fact, that, from the unfavourable season during a portion of the year, the canes have yielded one-third less than usual; the last quarter of the year, considering the favourable season for the last month, is likely to give a much larger return. I shall be prepared to show, by the prices of the last twelve or fifteen years, that even supposing the exports of sugar for the year 1839, from this colony, only reach 35,000 hogsheads, the returns in money will be larger than when the produce was at its greatest extent."—*Ibid.* p. 25.

In a subsequent despatch, transmitting the quarterly returns, addressed to Lord John Russell, dated 22nd January, 1840, Governor Light observes, "when it is taken into consideration, that for four months of the last year the canes did not yield half their accustomed liquor, we have reason to be satisfied that the diminution is not more."—*Papers relative to the West Indies*, 1841. p. 94.

Governor LIGHT to Lord JOHN RUSSELL, 15th June, 1840.

"I shall venture to introduce here a remark on Mr. Schomburgk's work on British Guiana, a copy of which has been transmitted to me. He says that cultivation has diminished here in consequence of the indolence of the black labourer. He is mistaken; that diminution arises from the number of persons who have turned to more profitable or perhaps less laborious exertions; they are all eager to obtain money, and do that which in every free country exists, apply their industry to that which gives them best returns. Luckily they are no longer "adscripti"—they seek independence

by the purchase of land—that of Orange Nassau, lately made, has added greatly to the labour of the neighbouring estates, by congregating persons together who are enabled to share their labour with those estates, and still carry on the cultivation on that which has been purchased. Emigration is not necessary on account of the indolence of the labourers, but to supply the place of those who have chosen the work which suits them best, and on that account, as well as to develop additional sources of revenue to the mother country, I trust that every facility will be given to immigration consistent with the policy of the mother country.”—*Ibid.* p. 139.

The following table will show the comparative amount of staples exported from the colony during the years 1839 and 1840.

Colonial Produce Exported from this Colony in this Year 1840, as compared with the year 1839.

	Sugar.			Rum.			Molasses	Coffee.	Cotton
	Hhds.	Trs.	Brls.	Puns.	Hhds.	Brls.	Cases.	Lbs.	Bales
From Jan. 5, 1839, to Jan. 5, 1840	36,714	2,221	2,398	13,888	3,924	885	12,134	1,585,200	1,304
From Jan. 5, 1840 to Jan. 5, 1841	38,588	2,573	2,461	13,029	3,953	773	15,999	3,357,300	331
Increase	1,874	352	63	859	29	112	3,865	1,772,100	3
Decrease	1,083

Custom-House, Demerara, 9th January, 1841.

CHARLES ROBINSON, Collector.

In transmitting this statement, Governor Light remarked :—“There is a considerable excess of sugar, molasses, and coffee, but a decrease in the production of rum and cotton. The excess has occurred in the two last quarters; the season was excessively unfavourable in the two preceding ones; the predictions of greater decrease in this year than in 1839 have proved false—predictions have ceased.”—*Ibid.* p. 216.

In addition to this general statement, there will be found in the Parliamentary papers continued references to the industry of the negroes, or to the causes which had prevented its full development; and it may be safely stated in the language of Governor Light, that “wherever tact and moderation have been shown by managers and masters there has been a fair share of work performed.” The latest despatch from his Excellency, dated the 16th of July, 1841, refers to emancipated negroes in the following terms :—“Mr. Wolsley’s (the circuit stipendiary magistrate’s) report exhibits a very satisfactory picture of the general state of the counties, and is especially gratifying as showing the highly creditable manner in which those labourers who have become independent agricultural freeholders are conducting themselves in the new station which their industry has achieved;” and he adds, “the very numerous offers for sale to the labourers of small allotments of land by the old proprietary body, indicate a decided and rapid change of opinion in the upper class of colonial society as to the policy of converting the day labourer into a freeholder.”—*Copy of Despatch*, 1841, p. 1.

SUMMARY OF CROPS AND WAGES on the several Plantations visited by Mr. Wolsley in June, 1841.

Plantations.	Hogsheads of Sugar made in 1840.	Hogsheads of Sugar expected in 1841.	Number on the Pay List.	Monthly Expenditure for Wages.	Average per Capita.
				Dollars.	Doll Cents
Belair . . .	152	152	120	900	7 50
Turkeyen . . .	150	150	95	800	8 41
Vryheid's Lust . . .	203	190	150	1,000	6 66
Resouvenir . . .	196	200	174	1,120	6 43
Annandale . . .	500	400	220	1,700	7 73
Enterprise . . .	500	500	298	2,000	6 71
Enmore . . .	545	545	280	2,100	7 50
Dochfour . . .	200	230	160	1,000	6 25
Beehive . . .	250	230	130	960	7 31
Greenfield . . .	300	140	152	1,660	10 94
Good Hope . . .	116	140	70	550	7 86
Helena . . .	360	360	250	1,300	5 20
The Farm . . .	83	100	130	800	6 15
Fellowship . . .	71	71	45	240	5 33
Profit . . .	22	60	70	500	7 15
Foulis . . .	216	200	170		
No. 17 . . .	50	450			
Waterloo . . .	170 Tierces	140 Tierces	92	600	6 52
Blairmount . . .	330	290	226	1,500	6 65
Balthyock . . .	200	340	230	1,100	3 93
Everton . . .	505	550	160	1,200	7 50
Highbury . . .	375	300	140	1,000	7 15
The Friends . . .	240	200	130	1,000	8 45
Providence . . .	440	470	184	1,400	7 60
Lochaber . . .	310	200	175	900	5 15
Cane Fields . . .	580	580	180	1,400	7 78
Rose Hall . . .	300	400	181	1,200	6 63
	Coffee in 1840.	Coffee expected 1841.			
Buse's Lust . . .	95,000 lbs	40,000 lbs	90		

N. B.—The amount of wages varies according to the amount and to the description of work performed; where an excess appears, it arises from the performance of more than the ordinary amount of labour within the month, or from the work being of an expensive kind; and where the reverse occurs, accidents or alterations to the machinery may have impeded the crop, the people being then employed in weeding, &c., and generally in such cases doing more in their own grounds, and less in their employer's.

STATE OF CRIME.

The number of persons, of all classes, committed for trial during the year 1839,

To George Town jail, Demerara, was . . .	1635
To Wakendam jail, Essequibo, was . . .	138
To New Amsterdam jail, Berbice, was . . .	194

Total 1967

—(*Papers Relative to the West Indies*, 1841, pp. 10—109.)

The number convicted before the inferior and superior criminal courts is not given in the returns. The greatest amount of committals were for trifling offences. In the absence of more specific information upon the point, the following extract from the Address of the Governor to the court of policy, delivered the 28th February, 1840, is particularly satisfactory:—

“Your colony is remarkable for a small amount of crime, and there are but few cases of an aggravated nature. Your peasantry are submissive, obey the law, and respect authority. At these latter qualities we may marvel (and my opinion will find its way to the mother-country), when we consider the bad example systematically set by those whose station in society ought to restrain them, and in whom reason ought to check the desire for personal influence amongst a small portion of the community, by reflecting that the mass in this colony neither sympathise with them nor can ever participate in their views.”—(*Ibid.* p. 96.)

In the same address his Excellency takes occasion to observe, in connexion with the fact that “the proprietors exhibit no inclination to part with their properties,” a striking proof of their confidence in the permanency of the advantages to be reaped under the free system, that he cannot advert to this “without bearing testimony to the conduct of the labouring population. That they are less constant in their industry than when coerced was to be expected; that they are so industrious is a subject of gratulation. Their cheerfulness and contentment dissipate the fears of many, and exceed the hopes of all. Men whose ambition is not limited to mere freedom from coercion, who aspire to become landholders, and who know that by industry they can obtain their object, will not be idle. We have convincing proofs that in the acquisition of land there has been no wish to quit the precincts of civilization.”—(*Ibid.* p. 96.)

SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

[From Buckingham's *Slave States of America*.]

The condition of the coloured population, slave and free, excited in me the liveliest interest, as I was anxious to see and judge for myself on this much contested point. Here, as at Charleston, the greatest anxiety seemed to be manifested on all sides as to my opinions on slavery. With some few I could safely venture to let these be known, as they were liberal enough to suppose that a man might, from conviction, be in favour of abolition, without designing any evil to the country; but with the great bulk of the white population here, the name of an abolitionist was more terrible than that of an incendiary, a rebel, or a murderer, and to such it would have been useless to make any observations on the subject.

From all I could perceive or learn, the condition of the domestic servants, or slaves of the household, was quite as comfortable as that of servants in the middle ranks of life in England. They are generally well-fed, well-dressed, attentive, orderly, respectful, and easy to be governed, but more by kindness than by severity.

If the slaves of America were confined to household attendants, I have no doubt that their condition would be very far from miserable; because the master and mistress of a family, and all the younger members of it, feel as natural a pride in having their personal attendants to look well in person and in dress, when slaves, as they do when their servants are free; for the same reason as ladies or gentlemen in England like to have their livery servants handsome and well-dressed, and their carriage-horses sleek, glossy, well-fed, and caparisoned with handsome harness. But when slaves are employed in field labour, as instruments of producing wealth, or when they are owned by one party, and hired out to another for wages to be received by the owner, then the case is very different, because the object is then, in each instance, to make as much money by them as possible, and turn them, as property, to the most profitable account; so that the least expense in food and clothing, compatible with keeping them alive and in working condition, leaves the largest amount of gain; and therefore their personal appearance is no more attended to than that of cart-horses or post-horses, as compared with the attention bestowed on the carriage-horses as a part of the family equipage.

We visited one of the rice plantations in the neighbourhood of Savannah, and saw the condition of the slaves on it with our own eyes. The estate was considered to be a valuable one, and under a fair condition of management, not among the best nor among the worst, but just such an average plantation as we wished to examine. The dwellings for the negroes were built of wood, ranged in rows of great uniformity, raised a little above the ground, each building containing two or more rooms, with a fire-place for two. We saw also the nursery for the children, and the sick-room or hospital for those who were hurt or diseased, and we had communication with the overseer, and several of the people, from both of whom we learnt the following facts, as to their routine of labour, food, and treatment.

The slaves are all up by daylight; and every one who is able to work, from eight or nine years old and upwards, repair to their several departments of field-labour. They do not return to their houses either to breakfast or dinner; but have their food cooked for them in the field, by negroes appointed to that duty. They continue thus at work till dark, and then return to their dwellings. There is no holiday on Saturday afternoon, or any other time throughout the year, except a day or two at Christmas; but from daylight to dark, every day except Sunday, they are at their labour. Their allowance of food consists of a peck, or two gallons, of Indian corn per week, half that quantity for working boys and girls, and a quarter for little children. This corn they are obliged to grind themselves, after their hours of labour are over; and it is then boiled in water, and made into hominy, but without any thing to eat with it, neither bread, rice, fish, meat, potatoes, or butter; boiled corn and water only, and barley a sufficient quantity of this for subsistence.

Of clothes, the men and boys had a coarse woollen jacket and trousers once a-year, without shirt or any other garment. This was their winter dress; their summer apparel consists of a similar suit of jacket and trousers of the coarsest cotton cloth. Absence from work, or neglect of duty, was punished with stinted allowance, imprisonment, and flogging. A medical man visited the plantation occasionally, and medicines were administered by a negro woman called the sick-nurse. No instruction was allowed to be given in reading or writing, no games or recreations were provided, nor was there indeed any time to enjoy them if they were. Their lot was one of continued toil, from morning to night, uncheered even by the hope of any change, or prospect of improvement in condition.

In appearance, all the negroes that we saw looked insufficiently fed, most wretchedly clad, and miserably accommodated in their dwellings; for though the exteriors of their cottages were neat and uniform, being all placed in regular order and whitewashed, yet nothing could be more dirty, gloomy, and wretched than their interiors; and we agreed that the criminals in all the state-prisons of the country that we had yet seen, were much better off in food, raiment, and accommodation, and much less severely worked than those men, whose only crime was that they were of a darker colour than the race that held them in bondage.

It is constantly alleged here, that the condition of the field slaves, though confessedly inferior to that of the domestic attendants, is not worse than that of the labouring population of England; but though this is much worse than it ought to be, it is still greatly above the condition of the slave, even in a physical point of view; while in a moral and intellectual one, the superiority is still more marked. The slave can never be instructed—the law forbids his being taught to read or write, under the severest penalties. He cannot, therefore, ever receive much of moral or intellectual culture, neither can he hope in any way to rise from his present dependent condition; but an English peasant, manufacturer, or artisan, may be taught any thing he has a disposition to learn, and may rise to independence at least, if not to opulence; while the hope of better days never abandons him, but sheds a ray of light on his path, and comfort around his heart, which the very condition of a slave renders it impossible that he should ever experience.

It is usual here also to say, that supposing the slaves were made free, they would be unable to maintain themselves, and would not work even for their own benefit, as they are incapable of voluntary exertion. Yet in the face of this often-repeated assertion, I learnt here the following facts, and from the same persons that so confidently insisted on the indolence and incapacity of the slaves—

A wealthy planter said to me, "I assure you that these negroes are the laziest creatures in the world, and would never work but by compulsion. Now, I have a fellow on my plantation, who for fourteen or fifteen days past has been complaining of rheumatism, and could not be brought to work for an hour; he was so ill, as he said, as to be unable. On Sunday last, I was walking on the bay, looking down the river, when who should I see but my rheumatic rascal, pulling up in his boat with some things to sell on his own account, the fellow having rowed a distance of fourteen or fifteen miles for a market." I replied, "The reason is very plain: he was too ill to work for *you*, because he got nothing more by working than by being idle; but he was quite well enough to work for *himself*, because his labour was well rewarded." "Egad!" said the planter, "but you have hit it: that is no doubt the cause of the difference." I rejoined, "This is the whole solution of the question; no man will labour for another's profit with the same zeal that he will for his own; and the difference between the indolent apprentice toiling for his master, and the active journeyman working for himself, is just the difference between the exertions of the slave and the free." To this no reply was made.

I was further shown instances of coloured persons settled in the town, as carpenters, bricklayers, tailors, barbers, &c. who had acquired property in materials of trade and houses, and managed their affairs with so much prudence as even to be getting rich, merely because they received the whole of the profits of their labour, instead of its being handed over to a master, who, after maintaining them, pockets the surplus as his own lawful profit.

Instances of hiring out negroes to work, not for their own benefit, but for that of their owners, are common; and I select, from among a hundred such cases that came every day before the public eye, the following, taken from a single column of a Charleston newspaper, in succession—

"To be hired, three able-bodied experienced boatmen. Inquire at this office."

"To be hired, a boy, a good house-servant, and capable of taking charge of horses. Apply at this office."

"To hire, a likely Mulatta boy, fifteen years old, accustomed to house work. Apply at this office."

"To hire, a boy accustomed to waiting about house. Inquire at 43, Beaufain-street, opposite Coming."

"To Master Tailors.—To hire by the year, at very low wages, a young fellow who has served six years at the tailoring business. Apply at 112, Queen-street."

"Nurse to hire. A young wench, of good disposition. Also two prime young wenches. Apply at this office."

These were all negroes, or coloured people, belonging to owners who hired them out to others, and received a profit from their labour, as interest of the capital laid out on their purchase. In the Savannah papers the following appeared—

"Negros Wanted.—The contractors upon the Brunswick and Alatomaha Canal, are desirous to hire a number of Prime Negro Men, from the 1st October next, for fifteen months, until the 1st January, 1840, or for any term within these dates, not less than twelve months. They will pay at the rate of eighteen dollars per month for each prime hand. Payments to be made quarterly."

"These negroes will be employed in the excavation of the canal. They will be provided with three and-a-half pounds of pork, or bacon, and ten quarts of gourd-seed corn per week; lodged in comfortable shantees, and attended constantly by a skilful physician."

"As the Contractors are now making their arrangements for the work of the next year, all those who will be disposed to hire negroes for the coming season are requested to make immediate application, and obtain any further information that may be desired at the office of the contractors in Brunswick."

"J. H. COUPER,
"P. M. NIGHTINGALE."

It will be seen that there are two strong inducements offered here—high wages to tempt the owner to hire out his negroes, and good living to tempt the men to go readily into such service, if their masters desired them. But it cannot fail to be also seen, that, if the men's labour is really worth the eighteen dollars per month, and their provisions besides, it is a positive robbery of their only natural wealth, the labour of their hands, to steal it from their pockets, and place it in that of their owners. It does not require the aid of reading and writing for the negroes to discover this: and the greater part of them are no doubt quite conscious of the injustice thus done to them, though the remedy is beyond their reach. The only thing they can do is to run away, and try to get to some place where they can work for themselves, and enjoy the profit of their own toil. The following from a Savannah paper, as one of a hundred such announcements, abundantly proves this.

"One Hundred Dollars Reward will be given for my two fellows, Abram and Frank, who have absconded, or fifty dollars for either of them, to be put in some secure jail, so that I get them. Abram is a tall, likely black man; Frank, a yellow complected man; he stutters, and has a pleasing countenance; both likely active men. Abram has a wife at Colonel Stewart's in Liberty county, and a sister in Savannah at Captain Grovenstone's. Frank has a wife at Mr. Le Cont's, Liberty county, a mother at Thunderbolt, and a sister in Savannah. They will, in all probability be at work on the wharves in Savannah, and on board of vessels. All persons are cautioned not to harbour or employ them, as no expense will be spared in prosecuting, if proof can be had."

"WM. ROBERTS,
"Walthourville, Liberty County, January 5th, 1839."

This is an announcement dated from "Liberty county," and the object is to arrest and punish those who thought that liberty was better than slavery, and therefore sought the change. As a proof, however, that it was not indolence, or a dislike of labour, which prompted this step, their very owner publicly asserts the probability that they would "be found working on the wharves or on board ships," where they would enjoy the fruits of their own labour, instead of its being appropriated to enrich another.

SLAVERY AND FEUDALISM.

(From Abdy's *American Whites and Blacks*.)

While we maintain, with the most distinguished abolitionists of Europe and America, that man cannot justly hold property in man, we must draw a broad line of distinction between the feudal and the commercial slave—between that state of servitude which is found to prevail in the earliest stages of society, and that which attends its more advanced periods; a distinction not always borne in mind by the advocates of a scheme which would transform the one into the other, as a sort of preparatory transition to emancipation. The disproportion of territory to its inhabitants is characteristic of both; but the wants of the one are supplied by war, and of the other by robbery. The victims of each are deprived, for the benefit of others, of the faculties which nature gave them, in common with other animals, for their own; with this especial difference, that what was frequently in the former case, when substituted by policy for the slaughter of the prisoner, an act of mercy, involves universally, when inflicted by avarice, the accumulated guilt of cruelty and injustice. In barbarous times, the necessity of self-defence was both the motive and the excuse for that which can now prefer no such plea in its favour. Personal servitude was, in fact, one of the first steps from the hunter-state to that of the shepherd, and the tiller of the soil; when the sense of numerical weakness suggested to warlike tribes a milder treatment of captives, both from the dread of retaliation, and with the object of

transferring their members from the task of providing food for the community to that of defending it against its enemies. With successive stages in the progress of civilization, the thrall became a serf, and the serf became a citizen. The struggles for political ascendancy between hostile factions raised the great mass of the people into importance. Personal freedom was the reward of services against a competitor; the emancipated obtained privileges; and the badge of slavery was lost in the better order of things that succeeded. It is far otherwise with the enslaved son of Africa. The peculiarities of his outward form, and the presumed inferiority of his intellect, have marked him out for oppression and contumely. All parties in the nation, which at once rejects and claims him, are opposed to his comforts and his hopes. Neither the owner who exercises an unrestricted power over him, nor the legislature which sanctions it, have any interest in his elevation. The strength of his arm, required against no foreign foe and no domestic rival, is turned against himself. The wealth he creates increases the pressure upon him. Superiority of mind adds to his misfortunes as a man, by adding to his value as property. He becomes more wretched as he becomes more valuable, and the chance of his redemption diminishes with his usefulness. To the black man the bitterness of his lot ceases not with his bondage. The Pariah remains when the Helot is gone. Freedom is a mockery to him who is an outlaw to the charities and courtesies of life; and the enfranchised, in obtaining the first hope of his existence, is miserable in finding it to be the last. In pursuing the contrast which these phases of society present, we find that the condition of the feudal serf is distinguished from that of the colonial slave by a less advanced state, both of agricultural skill and of political society. The one is connected with military services, the other with commercial speculation. The signior retains his land for the sake of his vassals; the planter buys human beings for the sake of his land. As the profits of agriculture rise, the one lightens the chain, and the other rivets it more closely; as the noble acquires power, the lord paramount protects the *villein* in order to protect himself; while the slave is crushed under the combined authority of the owner and of the government. Increase of national wealth brings the dependent nearer to the superior under the feudal relation, and drives them still further asunder under the commercial. Every accession to the population softens the lot of the serf, and renders that of the slave more unhappy. The one is wanted against foreign enemies; the other is dreaded as an enemy himself. Great, however, as this disparity of external circumstances may appear, and much as we are disposed to pity or despise the negro, it is not altogether impossible that the condition in which we now see our fellow-man so demoralized and degraded, may ultimately prove a better preparative for freedom of action, than that in which we know it to have been erected in most countries; and that the transition to social privileges might be neither so difficult nor so protracted as it proved to the European bondman. The conditions upon which human labour can be rendered most productive are now better understood; the deductions of economical science and the dictates of morality are found to coincide in favour of liberty; and the interest of those who possess the soil is seen to be identified with the welfare of those who cultivate it. These considerations are cheering to the friend of mankind, and will one day be felt by the objects both of his censure and of his solicitude. In the mean time, it cannot be expected that the gloom which now hangs over the North American continent, will be dispelled by the same expedients which gradually elicited the light of freedom from the darkness of our middle ages. Those who would borrow for the new world the policy of the old, and engraft the feudal tenure on the present system of slavery, are, I think, misled by false analogies and a partial view of things. The links that bind together the various ranks of European communities, are altogether wanting in the southern states of North America. The same industry which elevates a man on one side of the Atlantic debases him on the other. The idle rich, in transferring to the white labourer the infamy which attaches itself to the coloured slave, has given to the latter the employments he has taken from the former. The intended assimilation has increased the relative importance of the supposed inferior race. The short-sighted policy which has thus excluded those sub-divisions of society which exist elsewhere between the capitalist and the labourer, has conferred upon uncompensated labour the intelligence which can alone give it value, and will one day give it freedom. When we consider that, under the feudal polity, the arts of life which characterize the colonial system were unknown, it may be presumed that the working class will, in the latter, possess a much greater quantity of practical skill from its contact with a higher civilization, and that, whether it is to owe its emancipation to conquest or concession, it will be more prepared both to enjoy and to maintain it. These however are among the coming events, of which the shadows are invisible to the keenest eye."

THE SLAVE TRADE.

RUSSIAN UKASE.

The Emperor has issued to the directing senate the following ukase, relative to the suppression of the slave-trade:—

"Our illustrious predecessor and dearly beloved brother of glorious memory, at the most memorable period of his ever glorious reign, when the Congress of Monarchs assembled in Vienna established the new basis for the political relations of the European powers, did then recognize, and, in accordance with his allies,

solemnly declare, that the branch of commerce known by the name of the African slave-trade, had by the virtuous and enlightened of all times, been justly regarded as opposed to the principles of philanthropy and the laws of public morality; and that nothing but the peculiar circumstances under which this trade originated, and the difficulty of suppressing it without preparatory measures, could have served, in a certain degree, as an apology for the continuance of so odious a traffic. All the sovereigns of Europe who signed the treaty of Paris, May 18th (30), 1814, have thereby made it their duty to co-operate in common, and by all the means in their power for the suppression of this traffic on all points of the earth. Notwithstanding their earnest wish for the attainment of an object so important, they have, however, for the sake of the interests of their respective subjects, from deference to existing usages, and even to prejudices deeply rooted for centuries, refrained from attempting, by anticipation, to determine the time when each power would find it possible and convenient, formally to prohibit the slave-trade. It is better to leave the final fixation of that period to direct negotiations between the courts.

"Since the issuing of this declaration, the slave-trade has been prohibited by almost all the nations of Europe and America; and at present a special treaty has been concluded between us and their Majesties the Emperor of Austria, and the King of the French, the Queen of Great Britain, and the King of Prussia, with respect to the most effectual measures to be adopted for preventing the secret prosecution of the said trade.

"By this treaty, it is determined not merely to prohibit (or to renew the prohibition) the respective subjects of the contracting powers from carrying on the slave-trade within the possessions, or under the flags, of the said powers, or by capitals or ships to participate therein, directly or indirectly, in any way whatever; but it is moreover provided, that every attempt for the renewal or prosecution of that trade shall be held equivalent to the crime of piracy, and that all vessels therein engaged shall forfeit every right of protection which the flags of any one of the contracting powers might otherwise secure to them. Having sanctioned all the dispositions of the said treaty, we order that henceforth every individual legally convicted of carrying on the slave-trade, or either directly or indirectly in any manner participating therein, shall be sent before the legal tribunal, and made liable to the punishment prescribed by our laws against piracy.

"The directing senate will take care to provide the necessary measures for the execution of this ukase.

"NICHOLAS.

"St. Petersburg, March 26th (April 7), 1842."

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JUNE 29TH.

WE mentioned in our last the intelligence brought by the papers that the British government had taken some measure in relation to slavery in our Oriental dependencies. We have the high gratification of inserting to-day the proclamation of Governor Bonham on this subject, copied from the *Singapore Gazette*. It was issued on the 5th January last, and declares slavery under every form and pretext to be absolutely unlawful. We give the present government full credit for this measure; by which, if (as we do not doubt) it shall be made effective, a large number of slaves will acquire their freedom, and an extensive slave-trade, carried on chiefly by the Malay pirates, to be brought to an end. As the proclamation relates to "the British settlements in the straits of Malacca," it comprehends, no doubt, Singapore, Malacca, Prince of Wales Island, province Wellesley, and Pulo Penang. It will not be long, we hope, before a similar measure shall be adopted with relation to the important island of Ceylon.

THE case of Nelson Hacket was referred to in the House of Commons on Monday evening, in a manner which calls for the most serious attention of all the friends of liberty. We take our report from the *Morning Herald*.

Mr. HAWES wished to ask the noble Lord the Secretary of State for the Colonies, if it was true that, on the 17th of January last, a person of colour, named Nelson Hacket, was confined in Canada, was demanded back by the authorities of the United States as a fugitive from justice, it being well understood that a fugitive from justice meant nothing more than a runaway slave; and there being, as he was informed, no other charge against him, he was delivered up by the Canadian authorities, sent to Arkansas, lodged in the jail of Detroit, and sent back to the hands of his old master. He wished to know whether this statement was correct, and what was the policy which the government intended to pursue in such cases?

Lord STANLEY said the honourable gentleman's statement was not entirely correct. It was quite true that, in the course of this year an application was made by the American authorities to the government and executive council of Canada, to deliver up the person in question as a fugitive from justice, who was charged with burglary and robbery. There was an act in Canada which authorised the governor to deliver up to the American

Authorities fugitives from justice, charged with certain specified offences upon being furnished with a statement of the cause of the committal and the depositions against him, provided that the depositions were such as would authorise his committal if the offence were committed in Canada. On the first application these forms were wanting, and the application was therefore refused. A second application was made, accompanied by the proper documents, and from these it appeared that this person of colour, who was a slave, was charged with burglary and robbery. The question was brought under the consideration of the legislative council, who, finding the depositions to be such as would authorise his committal in Canada, complied with the provisions of the act, and gave him up to the authorities of Arkansas.

■ We read the answer of Lord Stanley to the question of Mr. Hawes with both surprise and alarm. As to being a fugitive from justice, that is the light in which the Americans of the south regard every fugitive slave; nor is there one of them against whom a charge of burglary may not be vamped up, supported by as long a tissue of false "depositions" as the most fastidious governor may require. If there be "an act" authorizing the government and executive council of Canada to deliver up fugitive slaves on such a pretext, the sooner it is repealed the better. We confess, however, that we should like to have proof of it; and especially that it authorizes the imprisonment of a free man—for in Canada the fugitive slave is free—for several months without any charge or depositions at all. Prompt and very serious notice must be taken of this matter; and we hope that Mr. Hawes will immediately follow up his question by moving for a copy of the act referred to, and all the papers connected with the case.

WE resume our notice of the proceedings of the St. John del Rey Mining Company, the twelfth annual general meeting of which was held at Tokenhouse-yard, on the 17th instant. Among other matters, the report (as condensed in the *Railway and Commercial Gazette*) contains the following statement:—"The number of negroes belonging to the company is 414; viz., 275 men, 109 women, and 30 children; they continue to receive kind and careful treatment, and to deserve it. The annual report states, that they are 'orderly, contented, and happy,' and that they 'well deserve the best of treatment.'"

After the report had been read, the following proceedings, according to the paper above named, took place:—

Mr. BOWERS wished to have a little explanation on the subject of the slaves belonging to the company. It was stated at the last meeting that the company had purchased 73 slaves; the number of slaves in 1840 was 383, to which, if 73 were added, would make 456, but it appeared from the accounts at present submitted that there were only 414 blacks belonging to the company. The Chairman explained that thirty of the number purchased had arrived at the time of making up the accounts for 1840.

Mr. Bowers then inquired if the directors had any account of the number of deaths, as that item must necessarily add to the company's expense?—The Chairman then referred to the yearly account, which showed that ten males, four females, and twelve children had died in the course of the year, and that ten children had been born in the same period.*

In reply to a proprietor, Mr. Herring stated, that, from their constantly purchasing negroes, it was impossible to get at the average number of the deaths, but he should suppose that 4 to 5 per cent. would be about it.

At a subsequent period of the meeting, we are told,

Some conversation ensued upon the treatment of the negroes; during which it was stated that the negro children had no further instruction than the "Padre Nostre," which was taught them by the "padre," and that the whole body of negroes attended church every Sunday. A proprietor expressed a wish that some means could be found by which the negroes could have a chance of ultimate emancipation. The chairman stated that the blacks were much better off than the labourers in Europe, or the free native labourers in Brazil. Mr. Bowers could not get over a statement that was made in the last report, that there was a balance of £2763 in January, and that there was some foundation for the hope of receiving a dividend, instead of which a call of 10s. per share was made, and he thought the proprietors ought not to separate without guarding against a recurrence of the same. The call, made as that one was, without any explanation to the shareholders, had reduced the shares, so that, at last, they were worth next to nothing; they must provide against the directors making another call without first calling the shareholders together.—Mr. Donaldson (a director) explained that the call was made to pay for the slaves.

And to this explanation the chairman subsequently added, that "LAST YEAR THEY HAD FIVE THOUSAND POUNDS TO PAY FOR NEGROES."

There is nothing we more admire than the amiable candour and frankness of these gold-finding gentlemen. With what naïveté Mr. Herring stated that the company were "constantly purchasing negroes;" and the chairman, J. D. Powles, Esq., that the directors really expended last year—that is, in the year of grace one thousand eight hundred and forty-one—no less a sum than five thousand pounds sterling in this illegal and wicked traffic! Did the honourable gentleman stammer in making this appalling statement? Not at a single syllable of it. Did he blush? Not by a single shade did his countenance approach to the fitting crimson. Did his brother directors deny it? Not a soul of them. Did the proprietors in whose presence it was made protest against

* We cannot help noticing the instructive comment which this frightful mortality supplies on the alleged kind treatment and happiness of the slaves. In a population of 414 souls, only 12 are born in twelve-months. During the same period 26 die; so that this well-treated and happy population (!) are diminishing at the rate of more than three per cent per annum.

it? Not an individual. Not even Mr. Bowers, whose wrath at having to pay so many calls was so vehement that he threatened to take, on that matter, legal advice. Yet this sensitive gentleman, and the whole body of shareholders present, acquiesce in becoming slave-holders and slave-traders, without breathing a syllable of rebuke or discontent! This barefaced contempt, alike for British law and common morality, is to the last degree astounding. For a British subject to buy a slave, or to be implicated in the purchase of one, is by British law a felony. Mr. Powles's statement, therefore, is the admission of a felony committed by the directors of the St. John del Rey Mining Company, and involving the shareholders. Could legal proof be obtained of the transaction, every one of these gentlemen might be subjected to a felon's punishment; and their only security against it, is their power of silencing the witnesses, and secreting the documents, from which the proof might be obtained. We confess we cannot understand, either how men otherwise honourable can bear to stand in a position so infamous, or how the government can allow such a fraud against justice to be perpetuated. Should a person proclaim to the world, "I have bought a stolen horse," every honest man would avoid him with disgust, and every legal functionary be on the alert for his punishment. Here, however, are gentlemen who declare, "we have bought stolen men; we laid out five thousand pounds last year in the felonious purchase;" but the British community hardly listens for a moment to the sound, and no law officer disturbs even a fibre of his wig.

THE last American papers bring us condensed account of the Anniversaries of the Anti-Slavery Societies in the United States. The American Anti-Slavery Society takes up the case of Nelson Hackett, in the following terms:—

Whereas, it is reported that the government of Canada has, on the demand of the executive of the state of Arkansas, surrendered a fugitive slave, under pretence that he was a fugitive from justice; therefore,

Resolved,—That the executive committee be requested to inquire into the correctness of this report, and, if substantiated, to address Lord Aberdeen, and also those of the abolitionists of Great Britain, whom they shall deem necessary, on this subject; and communicate the following resolution:

Resolved,—That, with gratitude to God and deep admiration of the noble attitude of the British government in relation to slavery, we have seen her colonies on our borders afford an asylum to the slave hunted from our pretended republic; and we trust that, through the vigilance of British justice and philanthropy, no specious pretences will be allowed to render that protection a mere name; and that such attention will be given to this subject by Great Britain, as to preclude the possibility of such another mistake.

The American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society adopted the following resolution, referring to abolitionists in other lands:—

That we have witnessed with delight and admiration the able, untiring, and influential labours of our brethren, in Great Britain, France, and other countries, to effect the downfall of the slave-trade and the system of slavery throughout the world; that we tender to them our zealous and hearty co-operation until the triumph of freedom over oppression, and liberty over slavery shall be complete and universal; and that when the time arrives for another conference of delegates, to consult upon the great topics connected with the enslavement and emancipation of our fellow-men, we trust that a full representation will go from this country to meet their brethren from various countries in London.

OUR readers will find much in our paper to-day in relation to British Guiana; but they will not find fault with us for adding the following extract of a letter lately received from a well-known correspondent at Demerara:—

Demerara, 14th May, 1842.

"I have just seen, and send to you by this mail, a copy of last night's *Guiana Times*—a paper remarkable for any thing rather than applauding, whether the character or behaviour of the black population, or for affection to the principles or influence of religion. When I read in the 'summary to go by the packet,' the prominent capitals '*Pros and Cons of the free system in British Guiana*,' I was fully prepared for the gloomiest picture that imagination might paint of the idleness and extravagance of the labourers, and the ruin of the country as the inevitable result, notwithstanding their boasted religious advantages whether among the establishment or the sectaries. But what was my agreeable surprise, when the first sentiment I read discovered a tacit acknowledgment of a former indulgence in 'extreme opinions' in regard to the results of slave emancipation, and an encomium passed on the population of 'new freemen,' which from the lips of any 'gentleman of the anti-slavery society' would have been pronounced 'extreme exaggeration,' evincing the grossest partiality. After admitting that the 'predictions' of the 'INVETERATELY PREJUDICED PLANTERS OF THE OLD SCHOOL' have signally failed, inasmuch that 'the new freemen have not broken out into criminal excesses, degenerated into outrageous vices OR DIED OFF FOR WANT OF BEING COMPELLED TO TAKE CARE OF THEIR PERSONS;' he illustrates this remarkable testimony as follows. If we are not entitled to judge the hearts and consciences of men, and to say that he community as a whole has improved in point of virtuous principle, this, at least, is not to be disputed, that the stride it has made in that external decorum, which is like the homage which vice pays to virtue, must outstrip the highest conceptions of all but personal observers. The degradation and inhumanity of a general system of licentiousness, the prevalence of the institution of marriage has everywhere rectified. The river no longer resounds on the peaceful sabbath-day with the FORCED MIRTH of the children of bondage, plying their unintermitted tasks; but every thoroughfare is crowded with well-dressed peasants, independently following the bent of pious inclinations, and thronging to places of divine worship. Even among the late owners of slave property to be immoral has become unfashionable, and to be profane is no longer accounted genteel. * * * Want, the tempter to so many deviations from propriety of conduct, is

unknown to the greatest mass, while the indolence induced by the climate, indisposes them to the violent long sustained bursts of passion familiar to regions in which all the faculties of the mind are in a state of constant activity and energy. Lying, thieving, cunning, and other vices and defects, have ceased to characterise peculiarly the labourer in these parts, as he, ceasing to be the abject instrument of another's will, has acquired self-respect, and learned fit notions of the value of a good reputation. In respect of these and similar results of the passing of the Emancipation Act, we encounter few planters even hardy enough to pretend to doubt the happiness of the change which has been so suddenly accomplished." A testimony like this from such a quarter I doubt not you will account invaluable, inasmuch as no one can suspect its editor of being tainted with anti-slavery principles. Indeed you will find in the same article a caution administered to the 'gentlemen of the Anti-Slavery Society' in whose wisdom one would think, after bearing witness to the beneficial results of their detested emancipation scheme, all the great W's might rather teach 'the inveterately prejudiced planters of the old school' to confide. Although I have sent you the paper, I could not forbear to copy the above extracts, as furnishing a strong evidence of the successfulness of your labours and of those who have laboured with you; success of a character which you will appreciate as a reward worthy to be accounted rich above the ill-gotten wealth of both the Indies; and when, too, this testimony is given by an editor who not long ago wrote about blotting out the word 'EMANCIPATION' from the English vocabulary—given by him, not as in 'the age of extreme opinions in regard to the results of slave emancipation,'—written after grave consideration, and after coming to the conclusion that 'the discovery is being made that truth lies in a golden mean'—and therefore that this testimony is 'truth' and is not an extreme opinion; not only will you account it invaluable, but be encouraged to persevere in your philanthropic endeavours, until slavery and oppression shall unite to confess the omnipotence of right principles, while compelled thus to do homage to the God of righteousness and truth, of peace and love."

We regret the insertion in our last of an extract from the *Morning Herald*, written in a spirit which, of course, we entirely condemn. It was obviously inserted for its bearing on an article in the *Colonial Gazette*, without the most remote intention of adopting its sentiments. This explanation is due to ourselves, and to those friends who might otherwise feel aggrieved by the appearance of that extract.

In our pages to-day will be found an interesting extract from Mr. Abdy's pamphlet, noticed in a recent number. We have to acknowledge the kindness of that gentleman in acquainting the committee that the proceeds of the publication, after payment of expenses, will be placed at their disposal.

UNITED STATES.

The progress of the cause in the south is thus depicted by one of Gerrit Smith's correspondents, in a letter from East Tennessee, dated

April 16th, 1842.

An impression is becoming general at the south, that abolitionists are increasing very fast at the north. Some seem to suppose that most of the intelligent and influential men of the north are already abolitionists, or at least giving them countenance and aid. A man of intelligence, who was conversing with me recently on the subject, said that he believed Mr. Birney would be elected President of the United States at the second election for that office. This impression, which I would hope the facts are such as to justify, is having a favourable effect in various ways on the south. Those opposed to slavery are more bold—and openly so. As the north becomes united, the friends of the slave at the south will act more openly and more efficiently. In a late letter I informed you that the subject was debated by two societies in this county. The societies are formed for the purpose of diffusing useful knowledge by debating all subjects calculated to promote the design of the founders. The question before them was: "whether slavery or intemperance was the greater national evil." At ——— Rev. Mr. H. ——— and Mr. S. ——— took the affirmative as to slavery. Mr. H. is a clergyman in the Methodist Church. Mr. S. Clerk of the County Court, both reputable for talents.

The decision was, that slavery was the greater of the two evils. Next morning a slaveholder called on Mr. H. somewhat excited. He said, "I understand you have decided that intemperance is no national evil at all." Mr. H. "O no, sir, only that slavery is a greater evil." The slaveholder: "I think such a decision very improper, sir." H. "Well, sir, if you are dissatisfied we will have the matter tried over again, when you can have an opportunity of arguing the question." Slaveholder; "No, sir, I am no orator, sir."

Yesterday I met with a man who was a few years since a slaveholder. He said, "Mr. ——— I understand you employ no slaves. That you are much opposed to slavery." I replied, "you are correct, Sir, I employ no slaves, and think slavery a great evil—ruinous to the country, and injurious to both master and slave." "You are right sir,—I respect you for your opinions—a few years since I had 22. It has ruined me and injured my family. It fostered habits which have made me completely insolvent. I am now going to apply for the benefit of the Bankrupt Law." Instances of this kind are not unfrequent. Bankruptcy is very frequent among the slaveholders. With them it is a calamity, for slavery has unfitted them for business by which they might hope to recover.

On the first week of this month the circuit court was held at ———. I met there with ——— Esq., a very worthy man from ——— county. I had a conversation with him about the anti-slavery society there. He said it was prosperous—that they had frequent meetings, and apprehended no difficulty. The indications of public sentiment were so favourable in ——— county, that I had thought of proposing to my friends to form one—and should have done so but for an occurrence on Wednesday morning of the court week.

Last month when about to go to ———, our late county surveyor, a very worthy man, met with me, and requested me to do him a favour. He said his coloured man had run away about the Christmas holidays, and had since

been lying out in the woods—that he had a wife in Jefferson county, and a mother 15 miles above. He wished me to call, as he thought it would be on my road, and see his mother, and if I could, the slave; and assure her and him, if I could meet with him, that if he would return, he should have no punishment, but as kind treatment as before; as a further inducement, that it was his intention to buy his wife, if circumstances should make it possible for him to do so; that he could live with his family. He added, you may assure him on your own responsibility, that he can rely on my promise, and if he has these assurances from you, he will, I think, return. I inquired as to the cause of his leaving. He said he was himself from home—that the slave became much intoxicated in the morning. His wife requested him to take care of the cattle—there was some disorder among them which required immediate attention. He gave her a flat contradiction, and went immediately away, he supposed through fear of punishment. During the few years he had owned him, he had never punished him; as this was the first offence, he and his wife would both forgive it—they supposed it owing to his intoxication—and that, I think he said, was the first instance. Soon after coming into this state I formed an acquaintance with his master—he is a man of an amiable disposition, kind to his slaves—I think he owns three—strictly regarding his word at all times. I told my friend that knowing his uniform kindness to his slaves—and, as there was so much benevolence in his request, I would call and see the slave's mother, and communicate the whole to her, and to the slave, if I saw him, but that, I could favour no coercive measures. He did not wish any. When on my way 10 miles above ———, I inquired for ———, the owner of his (the slave's) mother. I was told that he was a slave-dealer, then gone to the south-west with slaves. I determined to call as I came to his house. I introduced myself to his wife, told her the nature of my errand. She called the mother, a woman of about 50 years of age, to the front of the house. She had the appearance of being an intelligent well-bred old lady—I told her I was authorised to assure her son of the pardon of his master, and of kind treatment if he would return—that he had pledged himself to me that he should not be punished; but as a further inducement he would endeavour to buy his wife for him. Said she had not seen him for more than two years—if she should see him, she would advise him to return. She had no doubt Mr. ——— would keep his word, as he had stated to me. She said she had another son whose name was Jess. He was about to be sold with all his family—that it almost distracted him—he had left about the same time. She supposed they had met and gone together to the free states. This conjecture of the old lady is probably the true one. I dismissed the old lady and took a seat in the house. The inquiry was if I could learn any thing of him. I told the lady, that his mother thought that he had gone to a free state. She said, she supposed so, that there would be no use in following them. That her husband had two who had gone to Indiana, and that he had heard where they were. "Does your husband intend going after them?" O God bless you, no; it would be more than his life is worth to go there after them. There was our neighbour, Mr. ———, who went to Pennsylvania after one, and they had to call out a regiment of soldiers to protect his life. The lawyers called him a southern bloodhound, that had come after his pound of flesh. The cause was decided against him, and he thought himself well off to get away alive—O no, when they are there they are safe—my husband will never go there to risk his life after them. One of them went to the river and pretended to be very drunk, and took the canoe to cross in the evening. Next morning he was missing. They found the canoe down stream with his hat and bottle, and supposing him to be drowned, raked the river for his body.

Almost in the same neighbourhood, there were two men by the name of ———, who went to Indiana after a runaway slave. They introduced themselves as abolitionists, and by that means found the runaway slave and attempted to bring him off. What occurred afterwards we do not know, only that they came away without him—and are glad that they are alive. The impression is becoming common with the slave-catchers that they take their lives in their hands when they go into the free states after slaves.

PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOUR.

"Common sense and common decency forbid our following the writer before us into the subject of amalgamation—a bugbear not confined to Caucasian fastidiousness. Burckhardt was highly amused with the various expressions of astonishment his fair skin occasioned in Africa. A woman, whom he asked in jest, if she would accept him as her husband, gave vent to her indignation in words indicative of the utmost horror. The animated zeal of the uneducated pagan for the purity of her race, would have done honour to the most enlightened christian of Philadelphia. He no doubt appeared at the moment much the same in her eyes as an incarnation of the evil spirit, such as he exists in the imagination of those people whose superstition on this point is less irrational than ours; for, as bad men assume false colours before their enemies, and their own before their friends, the devil is black to white christians and white to black pagans. I have been assured by M. L'Instant, who obtained the Gregoire prize, that this antipathy is not uncommon in those parts of Hayti, where a Caucasian is as rare as a white-swan in New Holland. The aristocracy of the skin, it thus appears, is as much honoured in Africa as in America, with this difference, that the anti-amalgamation bug-bear has there, in extenuation of its folly, a low state of mental and moral cultivation, a thorough ignorance of the religion which enjoins humility and kindness, and want of familiarity with the inhabitants of other regions. Who is to settle these conflicting claims to superiority? Or must we bring the matter before a jury *de medietate coloris*? There is no impartial judge on earth; and, if we may judge from the book we profess to believe, there is no one in heaven that would pronounce sentence against either candidate for this singular distinction—a distinction which places the christians of North America, far in the scale of rational beings, below the Mohammedans of Turkey, who are so totally unacquainted with this phantasy, that the Turkish ambassador at Paris, some few years back, when asked if such a prejudice existed, among his co-religionists, was at first unable to comprehend the question. Human vanity must, one would think, be, at the same time, both extremely extravagant, and very easily gratified, when it can find matter for self-complacency in the *rete mucosum* of the skin. So unconscious are we of the influence this prejudice exercises over the understanding, that Dr. Julius, who was not long enough in America to imbibe its modes of thinking, praises the blacks of Cincinnati for displaying, during a procession, on a flag they carried, a preposterous distich, (I forget

the doggel lines,) implying that their hearts were white, though their skins were black. This disclaimer fully answered its purposes. The antithesis gratified the vanity of the whites, while it afforded the blacks an opportunity of enjoying a laugh at their expense,—a gratification of that taste for ridicule which is quite as prevalent in the one race, as the sources of its amusement in the other. No one who knows both can doubt which wrote or dictated the verses alluded to. Their purport is pretty much the same, as if Mungo Park had called out in the market-place of Timbuctoo,—“do not ye favourites of heaven despise me for my colour; my face truly is white, but my heart is as black as your own.” Happy, indeed, would the white man be, while expiring under the burning rays of an African sun, to change skins with one of its natives. Though ignorant, perhaps, of the different powers for absorbing or radiating heat, inherent in different colours; yet something within tells him that his pride in one latitude is his destruction in another. When we meet in animal or in vegetable organization with any thing that apparently deviates from an established law, we search for the final cause, and never doubt that benevolent design exists in this, as in every other work of the Almighty hand. Man alone forms an exception to this general rule; and he may well blush for human nature, and feel ashamed of his complexion, when he finds that exception in his skin.—*Abdy's Whites and Blacks.*

SOUTHERN SENTIMENT.

It cannot be denied, that everywhere in the south there are abundant evidences of a retrograde movement in the state of public opinion, as to the desirableness and practicability of emancipation. Whenever the subject is talked of, the conversation is almost always sure to wind up with the assertion, that, but for the abolitionists of the north, something would, by this time, have been accomplished; but that, by reason of their intemperate zeal, the accomplishment of negro freedom has been thrown back for an indefinite period. The people of the south use this as the strongest ground of their objection to abolition movements; though the true reason of their hostility; no doubt, is, an unwillingness to part with what is to them productive property, and to some, indeed, their whole fortune, especially in Virginia, where the slaves being more numerous than they can find occupation for on their own plantations, they train them as artificers of various kinds, and hire them out to others for wages, a small portion of which subsists the slave, and the rest is gain to his master or mistress; for widows and maiden-ladies owning slaves, let them out in this way for gain. The rising progeny of these slaves are regarded as so much stock, to be fed, raised, and prepared for a market, to which they are all sent in due time, so that the surplus number is a constant source of addition to the regular gains from their labour. Still the very persons who do this, and live wholly by the income so obtained, profess to be very desirous of seeing something done, towards a safe plan of gradual emancipation, and say that, but for the hasty and intemperate zeal of the abolitionists, this would have been done long ago.

Some might imagine that additional cruelties were practised on the negroes, in consequence of the efforts of the abolitionists, or that increase of suffering, and loss of life were produced by it. So far, however, is this from being true, that there never was a period in the history of America, when the negroes were treated with so much of kindness and consideration as at present. Floggings, which were once so frequent, are now certainly very rare; and neither subordinate punishments, harsh language, or heavy labour, are inflicted on the slaves to half the extent that they were before the abolition movements began. This change, I believe to have been brought about by the influence of public opinion. It is now necessary that the slave-holders of the south should be able to repel the charges of cruel treatment, by more kindness than ever to their slaves; to lessen the inducements to absconding, by making their labour lighter; and to prevent the disgust and indignation of northern visitors, by being more liberal in their supplies of food and clothing, and less frequent in the use of the whip. All this is the result of the abolition agitation; and though it may perhaps have suspended or retained all legislative measures for the emancipation of the slaves for some years, it has made it more certain that this emancipation will be effected, and that the progress towards it will be smoothened, if not hastened, by the gradually milder treatment of the negroes, so as to make them better able to bear the transition, and prevent the intoxication of a more violent oscillation from one extreme to another.

I feel persuaded, that the awakening the public mind to the danger that awaits the much longer continuance of slavery, is the only method of averting the catastrophe, in which, without some steps taken to avoid it, the question would make an issue for itself, by a general and successful insurrection. It is known, that the slaves increase at the rate of nearly 80,000 in each year; and that with all the pains taken to prevent their being instructed, they are nevertheless becoming more and more informed, by constant residence with the whites, and by what they hear and see around them. The example of Hayti, with a free government of blacks, is before them—the emancipation of all slaves in Mexico, is known to them—the example of England in the West India islands, is fresh and recent—and the exertions making for their abolition in their own northern states, are, of course, familiar to them all. It is impossible but that all this must every year increase the general desire to be free; and equally increase their physical and mental power, by augmented numbers, and improved information, to make themselves so. Should it ever come to that, the struggle would be dreadful, for it would be one of life and death to both parties; and neither would be willing to lay down their arms, till the other were exterminated. To avert this calamity, to which things are naturally tending every year, the humane, the patriotic, and the pious, ought to redouble their energies in favour of speedy emancipation, and the cause of “peace on earth and good will towards men,” will be ultimately promoted by their success.—*Buckingham's Slave States.*

EAST INDIA SLAVERY.—Extract of a letter from the rev. W. Taylor, dated Madras, April 22nd, 1842.—“I have very little to state to you on East India slavery. I know it exists in the worst form on the opposite, or Malabar coast. Here, at Madras, slavery is not uncommon. People sell their children for slaves in time of famine. The Moor people, or Mousalman, buy a good many, circumcise them, and train them up Mahomedans. There is much obscure kidnapping of children, who are taken by sea no one knows where; but the slavery of the soil is very mild. They go with the land, till the land, and receive a settled portion of the produce.”—*Patriot.*

Literary Notices.

[From a Correspondent.]

Des Colonies Françaises, Abolition immédiate de l'esclavage. Par Victor Schœlcher. Paris: 1842.

The Colonies of France, Immediate Abolition of Slavery. By Victor Schœlcher. Paris: 1842.

In olden times, when the happy slave-holders were not troubled by the clamours of anti-slavery societies, it was customary for them to offer to their visitors the patriarchal spectacle of a slave whipped or tortured. Few missionaries of emancipation were then seen treading the soil of the undisturbed colonies, and the masters had nothing to fear from the indiscretion of their guests. Since, however, the appeals of abolitionists have been re-echoed in all corners of the civilized world, and all kinds of travellers have deemed it proper to explore the land of slavery, some as advocates of the system and others anxious for its overthrow, the policy of the masters has changed; and, as no traveller sets out for the West Indies on an anti-slavery tour without publicly announcing his intention, the masters, aware of the visit, make due preparation for it. The slaves receive a new suit of clothes for the occasion, and are commanded to appear joyful and happy; the masters themselves speak as thorough abolitionists, and, with their usual and chivalrous hospitality, give a hearty welcome to their visitor. They invite him to go into the huts of their negroes, which are cleaned for the purpose, and they encourage him to question some of the slaves, who are instructed accordingly. They so well employ the traveller's time with dinner parties and other amusements, that he has not a minute to look at the other side of the picture. When all these are done, the visitor takes his leave, wondering how the masters could have been so malleable, and at their mild behaviour towards their slaves, whom they seem to look upon rather as friends. The slave-holder shakes hands with his credulous guest, and, laughing at his own ingenuity, sends him to proclaim that slavery is a blessing to the slaves, and that all the masters are abolitionists.

We fear that such was the position in which M. Schœlcher was more or less placed during the period of his sojourn in the West Indies; but we must first do this benevolent philanthropist the justice which he deserves. While some abolitionists in France were looking at the question of emancipation as a mere matter of fashion and speechifying, M. Schœlcher deemed it advisable to see for himself. He accordingly, at his own expense, made a voyage to the West Indies; and the volume before us is the result of his own observations, or of inquiries made on the spot.

We perceive throughout the whole work a laudable desire to be impartial; but the author seems too often to have seen with the master's eyes, and to have judged with the master's mind. In fact, it is difficult, on reading the first few chapters, at once to decide whether it is or is not an apology for the system, which he, nevertheless, throughout the entire work heartily condemns. It well illustrates the remarks made above on the policy of the masters. One object which M. Schœlcher appears to have had especially in view, was the reconciliation of the planters with the abolitionists, by convincing the former that the latter were not their personal enemies, but the enemies of slavery. The abolitionists never have been the planters' personal enemies. They have attacked with all their power a wicked institution, and have lamented the blindness of its supporters. The question of emancipation has ever been with them a question of principle, and of principle only—and this we believe (however much they may pretend to the contrary, for obvious reasons) is well known to the colonists generally. We very much doubt, notwithstanding M. Schœlcher's well intended efforts at reconciliation, if the masters will concede one jot or tittle of what they call their rights. But there is a consequence which may result from the perusal of this book, which M. Schœlcher has not, we believe, at all anticipated; namely, that it will impress on the minds of such of the advocates of emancipation in France as are not convinced of the necessity of immediate abolition, that slavery in the French colonies can be better regulated than abolished. M. Schœlcher, it is true, concludes decidedly in favour of immediate emancipation; but his readers will draw their own conclusions, and new laws and ordinances will be issued for the better administration of the slaves—laws and ordinances, which will be as strictly observed as all former ones sent to the colonies with the same object. The work before us, is, however, full of interesting facts and acute observations, which, if judiciously used, may materially aid the cause of abolition in France.

The progress and results of Emancipation in the English West Indies. A lecture delivered before the Philomathian Society of New York. By John Jay. Published by request. New York: 1842.

This admirable pamphlet is another interesting and decisive illustration of the influence which the British act of emancipation is to exert upon the world.

It is matter of the highest gratification, and the richest promise, that the literary societies of the United States should select such a topic for public discourses, and that men so distinguished as the author of the present pamphlet should undertake the composition and delivery of them. Such things cannot be without their fruit. Mr. Jay has done ample justice to his subject. In the rapid view which we have necessarily taken, we have been struck much with the beauty of the composition, more with the nobleness of the sentiments, and most of all with the truth and fidelity of the history. We extract the concluding passage.

This history teaches lessons of deep importance, both to the abolitionists and the slaveholders of America. Here we see the vast, the wonderful results that may be effected by persevering efforts; to this picture we may point those short-sighted philosophers who would fain persuade us that our philanthropy is dreamy, our schemes visionary, and our end impracticable. If the abolitionists of England had done naught but approve of abolition in the abstract, slavery in her West Indian colonies would still have been a sad reality. From their success should we derive additional confidence in the correctness of our principles and the sufficiency of our means for the attainment of the glorious end we have in view. *Magna est veritas*, and in the promulgation of truth we anticipate the triumph of justice: remembering that "every principle contains within itself the germ of a prophecy."

The slaveholder may here read at a single glance the guilt of slavery, the success of emancipation, and the inevitable progress of free principles.

The knell of slavery has begun to sound. The fiat has gone forth that consigns it to the tomb, and mightier than mortal man must be he that would reverse it. The spirit of the age, false as it is in much, is yet in this an echo of a voice from heaven—a voice of freedom, that is caroled by every bird of the forest, and wafted to the domain of slavery by every northern breeze. Heaven grant that they obey its warning, before it comes to them in the whirlwind of the tempest!

It is needless for me to enlarge upon the conclusive proofs afforded by this history of the perfect safety and practicability of immediate emancipation—both for the reason that the facts are so clear that they cannot be overlooked, and that I do not suppose you guilty of the impiety of reasoning upon the expediency of performing a plain duty, or of imagining that the righteous Ruler of the world ever imposes commands upon his creatures which it could be dangerous for them to obey. Such a doctrine, nevertheless, has been taught, and received by some of little faith; and to such this history will afford a rebuke to their doubts, and an answer to their fears, if indeed, after distrusting the promises of God, they will dare to believe the facts of an historian.

All arguments of the impracticability of immediate emancipation, and presages of murder and rapine, can have henceforth no force, if any weight is allowed to experience—and the duty of the southern master to our countrymen who are bowed beneath the yoke of slavery is now written as with a sun-beam, not only in the book of revelation, but on the page of History.

It was anciently said, "*justitiam injustitia parit*," injustice brings forth justice—and the sentiment has been verified in every age of the world, by the instinctive principle of resistance to oppression, implanted by the Creator in every breast. May we not venture to hope, in contemplation of this glorious picture, that, while the sentiment will ever continue true as of old, new instruments may be used for its fulfilment; and that in this land, dear to us as the place of our birth, and the home of our fathers, justice will triumph—not by insurrection among the slaves—but by the righteous efforts of those who, being themselves free, remember them that are in bonds as bound with them; that by their efforts, and the free act of the southern planters, the winged soul will be loosed from her chains, and from the prison-house of slavery come forth "the eagle spirit of the free;" that before another generation shall be swept from the verge of time, our country may assume a place among the free nations of the earth, our flag no longer wave at the pirate's mast, nor the staple product of our land bear to foreign climes the taint of oppression, and the stain of blood.

Miscellaneous.

BRAZIL.—By the arrival of her Majesty's packet *Express*, from Rio de Janeiro, April 26th, we learn that "considerable excitement existed on the slave-question. It was believed that the British government had proffered to extend to Brazil the same measures she proposes to the Spanish government to adopt in the Spanish West India possessions. The daily press teemed with tirades against what is termed the pseudo-philanthropy of England. An address on the subject from the provisional legislature of Rio, also gave rise to a copious discharge of Brazilian bile."—*Morning Herald*.

BRITISH GUIANA.—Since the termination of the late strike, things in this colony have settled down into a very quiet state. Very loud complaints are made of "distress;" but fortunately this distress, instead of pervading the great mass of the community, as appears to be the case at home, is confined to a small number of proprietors and speculators; while the great mass of the working people are making rapid strides in wealth and comfort. In fact, a very large proportion of the colonial distress of British Guiana is felt not here, but at home, on the part of the non-resident proprietors;—nor does it appear likely that any amount of immigration, nor any thing else, will ever bring back the times, in which after paying all the multifarious charges on the management of an estate, a large surplus will be left for the non-resident proprietor. In certain particular instances, no doubt, and with regard to estates enjoying particular advantages, and those in the hands of great mercantile firms, this may continue to happen; but we apprehend that as a general rule, if proprietors wish to pay their expenses out of their estates, they must be content to live on them.

The present hard times, we have no doubt, will introduce many improvements in plantation management; and many curtailments of expenses hitherto supposed to be indispensable. Indeed, we hear already of several changes of this sort. An improved system of plantation management is one of the subjects to be investigated by Lord Stanley's West India committee—a subject, we hope, to which the committee will give its serious

attention, since whatever else may be done for the West Indies, and whatever facilities may be given to the introduction of immigrants, we fear much that, without a radical change in the system of management, the proprietors cannot obtain any permanent and radical relief.—*Guiana Gazette and Advertiser*.

RISE AMONG THE BLACKS IN CUBA.—By the arrival of the schooner *Thomas Wyer*, from Manzanilla de Cuba, on Wednesday, we learn, that a report had obtained there of a conflict between the soldiery and the black peasantry, in which 50 of the latter had been killed. It was stated, that a number of runaway negros had established themselves among a range of hills about 15 or 20 miles from St. Jago de Cuba, where they formed a settlement somewhat similar to that established among the back woods of Trelawny, near Dromily, some years ago. It would appear, that as the existence of this community had not been known, until within a short period since, when the authorities directed an attack upon them by the military, which ended in the result we have stated above; the remainder of the fugitives had dispersed themselves, and from the communications which they had formed among the labourers upon the various estates, and the corresponding symptoms which were manifested by them, it was strongly apprehended that a general rising would ensue; considerable alarm had in consequence been excited, and all the inhabitants are represented as being on the *qui vive*, and the restrictions imposed upon black and coloured persons—particularly those from this island, were made more stringent than formerly.—*St. Christopher's Advertiser*.

The *Superior* sails to-day for Sierra Leone, taking with her about sixty Africans, children included, who are returning to their native shores. A few of these are immigrants recently brought here from Sierra Leone, but the greater part are Africans from the Bahamas, who came here during Sir James Carmichael Smyth's time. Several of them, we believe, have considerable money, which they wish to have the pleasure of spending at home.—*Guiana Gazette and Advertiser*.

HILL COOLIE EMIGRATION.—A quarterly General Court of Proprietors of East India Stock was held yesterday, at the East India House. The chairman said, that, in conformity with the resolution of the General court of the 23rd March last, certain papers relative to the emigration of natives of India to the Mauritius and other British settlements, which were then laid before the court, had been printed for the use of the proprietors, and the court was now made special, for the purpose of taking those papers into consideration. Mr. Weeding immediately rose and stated, that he was entirely opposed to the emigration of Indian labourers to the Mauritius or elsewhere. In spite of all precautions, the measure would open the door to a new species of slave-trade. He concluded by moving a string of resolutions, in accordance with these sentiments, and recommending to the Court of Directors to abstain from sanctioning the measure which is contemplated. Mr. C. F. Brown seconded the motion. The chairman having stated that he would give his most decided opposition to the motion, Mr. George Thompson said, that, as the chairman intended to give the motion of the Hon. proprietor a direct negative, he must enter his protest against such a course. He then made a powerful speech in support of the motion. The question was then put, and the chairman declared that the resolution was negatived. Mr. Weeding called for a division; and, tellers being appointed, the court was counted, and the numbers declared to be—for the resolution, 22; against it, 54; majority, 32.—*Patriot*.

COTTON.—An extract of a letter which we insert below, from Mr. Goodell, an American abolitionist, will shew how [the aspect of the cotton trade is operating on the slave-holders of the south. The fact adverted to is that the south is calling for a high duty against the importation, both of raw cotton from India, and of manufactured cotton from England. Of this measure Mr. Goodell says:—

It is evidently adapted and designed to secure a union of the cotton growers of the south, and the cotton manufacturers of the north, for the purpose of excluding, at the same time, the raw cottons of the East Indies, and the cotton manufactured goods of Europe. By this means, and by this means only, can slavery be maintained at the south, for ten years more, and perhaps, if the plot could continue, for a half century longer.

Do we not know that this view has been held and proclaimed at the public meetings of planters in Alabama, where the plan of the "HOME LEAGUE" was first concocted and promulgated? Have we not witnessed the alarm of the south, at the importation of India cottons at Boston? Do not the slave-holders understand perfectly well, that they are destined to lose the English market, in the same way? And how can they maintain slavery unless the "home" market for cotton can be increased—doubled? And how is this to be done, without the exclusion of foreign manufactured cottons?

Let us not forget, that the first "protective tariff" was forced upon us by John C. Calhoun, with precisely this object. But finding that the industrious north thrived better under that system than the indolent south, and trusting to retain the English market, while he crushed northern manufactures, he subsequently demanded the abandonment of the policy. But circumstances have now changed. The English market is about to be lost to the southern planter, and India cottons are coming into Boston! It is found, too, that New England manufacturers can live, tariff or no tariff. And behold, the demand for a high tariff comes to us more early and more loudly from Alabama than from Massachusetts!

HORRIBLE.—By the presentment of the grand jury, we see that there is now in confinement in the police prison of the first municipality, a little mulatto girl, three or four years old, who was born in the jail, and who was never out of it. Her mother died some time ago, and the poor thing has never heard the voice of a human being, save that of her mother's jailor. Incapable of having committed any crime, this little creature is immured within the walls of a dungeon, and there is none to release or care for her. Such unnecessary cruelty as this is a stigma upon a civilized community.—*New Orleans American*.

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